

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 1904

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SUBJECT: NATO CONSULTATIONS

REF: A) USNATO 1424; B) USNATO 1422; C) STATE 042134; D) STATE
035268; E) USNATO 0852; F) USNATO 0803; G) USNATO 0483

BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE RESPONDS TO REF C CONCERNING FRENCH
PERMREP DE ROSE'S FEBRUARY 13 NAC INTERVENTION ON NATO CONSUL-
TATIONS. IN MISSION'S OPINION, THE FRENCH NARROW VIEW ON
ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS, A VIEW FOR WHICH THERE IS PRACTICALLY
SPEAKING NO SUPPORT IN THE ALLIANCE, WAS APPROPRIATELY DEALT WITH
IN THE DISCUSSION ON ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS AT THE MARCH 14
REINFORCED NAC. ADDRESSEES WILL HAVE NOTED THAT EVERY NON-FRENCH
INTERVENTION IN THAT DISCUSSION WAS AT LEAST TO SOME EXTENT IN
SUPPORT OF A POINT OF VIEW CONTRARY TO ONE OR MORE OF THE FRENCH
THEORIES ON THE SUBJECT. MISSION BELIEVES THAT BOTH IN THE
COUNCIL AND IN BILATERAL DEALINGS WITH OUR 13 OTHER ALLIES THE
MOST EFFECTIVE TACTIC IN DEALING WITH THIS SUBJECT IS TO LET
OTHERS KEEP THE LEAD IN REBUTTING THE RESTRICTIVE FRENCH POINT
OF VIEW, WITH THE U.S. LENDING SUPPORT AS OCCASIONS ARISE. IN
THIS MANNER, AND BY RELYING AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE ON DEEDS RATHER
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THAN ARGUMENTATION, U.S. SHOULD SEEK TO DEMONSTRATE THAT 14
ALLIES MORE OR LESS AGREE ON WHAT CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE AND
THAT FRANCE IS ISOLATED IN ITS VERY RESTRICTIVE INTERPRETATION.
25 YEARS OF NATO'S SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION (PRACTICE HAS FALLEN

FAR SHORT) SUPPORT THE VIEW THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY AREA CANNOT BE TREATED IN ISOLATION FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD.
END SUMMARY.

1. ON FEBRUARY 13, IN SUMMARIZING FRENCH VIEWS ON NATO CONSULTATIONS (REFS E AND F), FRENCH PERMREP DE ROSE HUNG HIS REMARKS ON A PREVIOUS DISCUSSION OF ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS WHICH TOOK PLACE ON JANUARY 30 FOLLOWING A NAC BRIEFING BY AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD ON THE MIDDLE EAST (REF G). IN THAT PREVIOUS DISCUSSION, WHICH INCIDENTLY WAS THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE OCTOBER 1973 MIDDLE EAST HOSTILITIES THAT THE COUNCIL VENTURED INTO THIS ISSUE, SEVERAL POINTS OF VIEWS, WHICH FRANCE PROBABLY FOUND THREATENING, WERE EXPRESSED. THUS, DE ROSE'S FEBRUARY 13 INTERVENTION WAS ESSENTIALLY A FRENCH RESPONSE TO THE EARLIER DISCUSSION RATHER THAN A NEW CHALLENGE.

2. ACCORDINGLY, MISSION FELT IT ADVISABLE NOT TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE DIRECTLY TO REBUT THE FRENCH CONSULTATION PHILOSOPHY, BUT RATHER TO REMAIN PREPARED TO WEIGH IN IN SUPPORT OF MAJORITY VIEWS AMONG OUR ALLIES WHEN AN OCCASION AROSE.

3. WHEN THE SUBJECT OF ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS WAS PLACED ON THE AGENDA FOR THE MARCH 13 REINFORCED NAC IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE FRENCH THESIS ENUNCIATED BY DE ROSE, PARTICULARLY THE ASPECT THAT WOULD CONFINE POLITICAL CONSULTATION TO MATTERS DIRECTLY AFFECTING THE NATO TREATY AREA, WOULD NOT LACK CRITICAL ATTENTION.

4. REFS A AND B REPORT THAT SUCH WAS INDEED THE CASE, WITH 14 ALLIES PLUS SECRETARY GENERAL SPEAKING IN FAVOR OF INTERPRETATIONS OF ONE OR MORE ASPECTS OF THE CONSULTATION QUESTION DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED TO THE FRENCH VIEWS.

5. THE LINE-UP AMONG THE ALLIES ON THE NATO CONSULTATION ISSUE IS NOT ONE ON WHICH FRANCE AND THE U.S. ARE AT OPPOSITE EXTREMES. WHILE FRANCE IS ALONE AT THE STRICT CONSTRUCTIONIST EXTREME, THE U.S. HAS IN PRACTICE MAINTAINED A POSITION SOMETHING SHORT OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE OPPOSITE VIEW FAVORING A LIBERAL INTERPRETATION OF SUBJECT MATTERS APPROPRIATE FOR CONSULTATIONS, BUT ON A VOLUNTARY AND RECIPROCAL RATHER THAN OBLIGATORY BASIS. CANADA AND THE FLANK ALLIES, WITH THE SMALLER EUROPEAN NATIONS CLOSE AT HAND, FAVOR THE BROADEST AND WIDEST INTERPRETATION OF ALLIED DUTY AND OBLIGATION TO CONSULT. EVEN THE LARGER EC-9 POWERS ARE LIKELY TO REGARD THE U.S. VIEWS AS SLIGHTLY RESTRICTIVE. THUS WE HAVE AN IDEAL TACTICAL SITUATION IN WHICH THE U.S. SHOULD ALLOW, EVEN ENCOURAGE OTHER ALLIES TO TAKE THE LEAD IN CRITICIZING THE FRENCH POINT OF VIEW.

6. AS DEPARTMENT POINTED OUT IN REF C, FRENCH THEORIES ON CONSULTATIONS RUN HEAD ON AGAINST THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE

HARMEL REPORT. FOR EARLIER DOCUMENTATION, AN EXCELLENT SOURCE IS IN NHO/63/1 ENTITLED "THE EVOLUTION OF NATO POLITICAL CONSULTATION 1949-1962". THE CONCLUSION OF THIS DOCUMENT SAYS IN PART: " THE PRINCIPLE THAT NATO POLITICAL CONSULTATION IS NOT NECESSARILY CONFINED TO THE AREA DEFINED IN 1949 FOLLOWS FROM THE TREATY WHICH MENTIONS NO SUCH GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITS TO CONSULTATION: ARTICLE 6 REFERS TO THE COMMITMENTS MENTIONED IN ARTICLE 5, NOT TO ARTICLE 4 OR OTHER RELEVANT ARTICLES. THE DESIRABILITY OF NATO CONSULTATION GOING BEYOND THE NATO AREA WAS SUBSEQUENTLY REAFFIRMED AT THE OTTAWA MEETING IN 1951, BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY (PEARSON COMMITTEE), OF 1951, BY THREE WISE MEN IN 1956, BY MR. SPAAK'S POLITICAL APPRAISAL REPORT IN 1958 AND, FINALLY, IN THE LONG TERM PLANNING EXERCISE OF 1960/61."

7. MISSION IS NOT RECOMMENDING THAT THE U.S. SHOULD REFRAIN FROM SPEAKING OUT ON THIS SUBJECT. ON THE CONTRARY, WHEN THE OCCASION ARISES U.S. REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENDORSE THE VIEWS ON CONSULTATIONS HELD BY THE 13 OTHER ALLIES. OUR TACTIC HOWEVER SHOULD BE TO EMPHASIZE THAT THERE IS CONSENSUS AMONG THE 14 ON MOST ASPECTS OF THIS SUBJECT, AND THAT FRANCE'S VIEW IS NOT ONLY UNWISE BUT IS ALSO CONTRARY TO DEALS WHICH ALL PARTNERS, INCLUDING FRANCE, AT ONE TIME ENDORSED. (WHETHER ALL PRACTICED WHAT THEY PREACHED IS A DIFFERENT QUESTION.)

8. MOREOVER, AN EVEN BETTER MANNER TO ISOLATE FRANCE ON THE SUBJECT OF NATO CONSULTATION, IF THAT IS OUT GOAL, AND MISSION CONFIDENTIAL

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BELIEVES IT SHOULD BE, IS TO DEMONSTRATE THROUGH OUR ACTIONS, AS WE HAVE BEEN DOING FOR EXAMPLE ON SALT AND THE MIDDLE EAST, THAT WE BELIEVE IN A BROAD INTERPRETATION OF THE SUBJECT MATTERS THAT AFFECT THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE, AND WE, FOR OUR PART ARE PREPARED TO CONSULT IN NATO ON A WIDE VARIETY OF SUBJECTS, IF THAT IS THE DESIRE OF OUT ALLIES. RUMSFELD.

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